

This analysis shows how the ways of life of two peoples, each with very similar, if not identical, cultural, historical, and ecological backgrounds have experienced change of varying degree while in contact with two varieties of European culture and systems of colonial rule. The major variables in the comparable situations are (1) the policies of colonial administration of the two European governments and (2) the intensity of formal education. In other respects, the agencies and intensity of contact have differed between the two regions in no appreciable manner, and government policy and education must, therefore, be called upon to account for the observed differences in their contemporary cultures.

Not all of the aspects of culture have shown the same degree of change, and within each group there are rather wide variations in the degree to which the various classes have accepted, reinterpreted, syncretized, or rejected patterns of European culture. This again has been due largely to the differential operation of the two major variables on different groups of individuals within each society. In this investigation, the attempt has been made to convey the total situation in both of the cultures under study, taking into account the range of variation between acceptance and rejection within each culture, and presenting the over-all picture of each as manifest in the greatest proportion of the populations.

The approach to the data used in this study is that of a comparative, contemporary ethnography, with a projection of the Agni materials against the background of a relatively complete treatment of the Ahafo-Ashanti data pertaining to all aspects of culture except art and language.

The techniques for the study of culture change are not refined enough to permit precise quantification of results, and there must inevitably be a factor

of personal subjectivity in evaluating such elements as comparative degrees or intensities of change. Nevertheless, the judgments contained in this analysis, based as they are on intensive observation and, to some extent, on participation, are held to present a valid description and explanation of the differences now existing between these two peoples. Wherever there has been reasonable doubt of the extent of differences, the degrees of retention or change of the precontact cultures have been adjudged approximately equal.

The comparative degrees of retention, acceptance, reinterpretation, and syncretism, that is, the differential acculturation, within each aspect of the culture of the Ahafo-Ashanti and the Indenie-Agni may now be summarized.

Both peoples have shown a desire to accept most traits of European material culture as they have been presented to them and as they have come within the budget of the individual. Roads and transportation are the most highly prized of these innovations.

There has been a great revolution in the economic life of both Ahafo and Indenie, but certain differences between the two groups indicate that acculturation has been greater in degree among the Ashanti than among the Agni, although this does not apply to all the traits within the complex. Basically, of course, there has been a complete acceptance of the patterns of cash crop production. In both regions, subsistence agriculture has been relegated to a position of secondary importance, but still it remains basic in the sense that both regions could subsist if their cash crop production were removed.

Beyond these basic economic similarities, however, the Ahafo-Ashanti have created a more diversified pattern of production than the Indenie-Agni, and in this respect they show a greater degree of change.

Family labor still provides the bulk of the work performed on most small-scale farms in both areas, but the Indenie have turned in a slightly greater degree to the use of hired, migratory labor in the immediate vicinity of the

town of Abengourou, Ivory Coast, a situation suggesting a tendency toward greater change in an urban area than in the rural areas either of Indenie or of Ahafo, in the Ivory Coast and Gold Coast respectively.

The increase in the price of land and the extension of precontact tribute payments to chiefs in Ahafo may be interpreted both as a change toward the European patterns under British rule and as a reflection of the diminution of the prestige of the chief under French rule in Indenie, where the cost of land has not increased and the payment of tribute on the produce of the land is almost entirely ignored.

While the marketing of the cash crop has been placed entirely under the control of European firms in both countries, and, more recently, under the direction of a government agency in the Gold Coast, a few individual Ahafo have had greater success adapting themselves to this system than have any Agni. As branch managers of trading companies, some Ahafo have been able to exploit the greater degree of formal education they enjoy, whereas no Agni in Indenie have attained a position higher than that of produce buyer for European managers. One other evidence of greater Ashanti acculturation in this pattern is the cocoa producers' cooperative, which is a steadily expanding organization in Ahafo, and which is now beginning to extend itself into the field of consumers' co-operation.

Moneylending has also become more specialized in Ahafo than in Indenie. Where the Ahafo turn to professional moneylenders, cocoa produce buyers, and the cooperatives for loans, the Agni still depend more largely upon wealthy, elderly acquaintances or upon members of the kin group for advances of money. The precontact pattern of the pawning of crops, that is, the pledge of a proportion of the produce of the land, still obtains in both districts; but under the aegis of the government cooperative in Ahafo, this practice is being increasingly

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appears that both groups are experiencing in about the same degree a lessening of lineage solidarity in the support of members who become indebted beyond their ability to repay.

The system of distributing goods in the villages still takes the form of the market in which women entrepreneurs sell their wares and maintain an independent income. One of the characteristics of the urban dwellers in Abengourou has been the displacement of Agni women by non-Agni in the market, the former finding the production of cash crops more lucrative and selling in the market too demeaning. If this is a mark of the greater acculturation of Agni women, it is offset by the degree to which Ahafo men have entered into the system of distribution through the operation of trading stores, an enterprise which has not been adopted to any extent by Agni men.

In many respects, the items on which money is expended in both Ahafo and Indenie are the same, European goods, ceremonial expenditures, and hospitality taking large proportions of the budgets. Investment in land seems to be equally popular in both regions, but it appears that investment in such capital goods as housing - which is also a prestige commodity - and transportation is at a higher peak in Ahafo than in Indenie. These estimates may be interpreted as an indication of greater change among the Ahafo. One other factor which particularly emphasizes the political and educational differences of the two areas is the self-imposition of special, nonobligatory taxes by the Ahafo-Ashanti in order to implement self-initiated plans for the construction of schools, roads, and sanitary facilities. Such powers of initiation are not permitted the Agni by the French rulers, and little local agitation for such projects is to be observed, although it is found on the level of the national political parties, none of which is strong in Indenie.

One final pattern of both economic and social organization which exhibits

a marked tendency to accept an element of European culture among the Ahafo is that of inheritance. While the Ashanti debate with some vigor the advisability of inheritance along the lines of the immediate family - that is, inheritance by the marriage partner and the children, especially the sons of the father - the Agni do not yet consider this an issue. Indeed, marriage in the church is opposed on the grounds that one of its requirements is the European type of inheritance at the death of one of the spouses. Ahafo men declare their desire to educate their sons and find the financial obligations to both nephews and sons too heavy to bear. The solution they are discussing is that of the patrilineal rather than the precontact matrilineal system of inheritance.

Thus, while the changing patterns of economic organization reveal the impact of European civilization, the influence of the governing countries has been more extensive among the Ahafo-Ashanti than among the Indenie-Agni.

This analysis shows that there is little change in the formal structure of the lineage system, in the patterns of marriage and the operations of the family, or in usages concerning birth and childhood. Relations between individuals within these complexes have altered, however, in a manner which restricts the authority of the elderly and which permits greater independent action by the young.

The greatest change in the aspect of social organization is to be discovered in education. It has been shown that the European innovation of the school has not only become a pattern in the social life of the people but has also become a cause of changes in all the aspects of both cultures. That it has had greater force and effect and wider ramifications in Ahafo than in Indenie is clear. Not the least of these has been the attitude of the two peoples toward formal education as a value in itself. The Ahafo have come greatly to desire it for themselves and their children, while only a few Agni express enthusiasm for it. A concomitant of these differential developments has been the disparity

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between the points of view of the two peoples on matters affecting the integration of the local life with that of the entire country. While the awareness of the Gold Coast as an entity is not yet widespread among all groups in Ahafo, it has progressed much further there than in Indenie, where the relative lack of schooling has combined with involvement in a local political dispute to create a parochial attitude toward the larger political life of the Ivory Coast.

Also influenced by this factor of schooling has been the emergence of new criteria for shaping class differentiation or patterns of social intercourse. The precontact division of society into royal and common strata still obtains in both regions, but the people of Ahafo are more critical of this institution than are those of Indenie. Wealth and formal education are today the criteria for the delineation of class which have taken the place of line of descent in Ahafo. To be sure, the lines between classes are not as sharply drawn as formerly, but the pattern is emerging, and to a degree greater than in Indenie, where the proportion of persons with European education is smaller.

Differences in governmental policy and in the intensity of education have also worked to effect differences in the political organization of the two peoples. In both, the authority of chiefs and elders has diminished. In Ahafo, it has been appreciably displaced in local government by the attainment of commoners to positions of relative prominence in government affairs.

The issues of politics on a national scale, involving the support of and membership in nationally organized political parties, have also been differently met in the two regions. Whereas the Indenie-Asanti have withdrawn into a narrower field of interest in their own internal political situation and have risen to the defense of the institution of the chieftainship as a symbol of their tribal integrity, most groups among the Ahafo-Asanti take national

political activity, which aims toward the establishment of self-government in the Gold Coast, as a major political interest.

The tenacity of the autochthonous religions is evidenced among both the Ahafo and the Agni by the reinterpretations of Christian theology as well as by the outright retention of many aspects of the precontact belief. A greater degree of change is nevertheless to be found among the Agni in matters of public ritual observances for the gods. The absence of public rites in Abengourou, and their diminishing frequency in other parts of Indenie, is in sharp contrast to their presence in Ahafo. Private rituals involving the soul are also held less frequently than in former times in both areas. Usages concerning death, burial, and the funeral have shown much greater resistance to change and, indeed, have been extended into the Christian festivals of Christmas and Easter, giving both of these the overtones of a funeral observance for members of the lineage who have died during the past year. While the ceremony of Christian baptism has found acceptance among both Ahafo and Agni qualified under church law to receive it, the concept of the marriage as a sacred institution has not been so readily taken over. This is especially so because of the Christian proscription of polygamy, which continues to be a social ideal and a prestige factor for the great majority of the Africans in these two regions. The tolerance of a foreign belief-system and ritual which is everywhere a characteristic of the religious beliefs of non-Europeans continues to distinguish African Christianity from its evangelistic European variety, though this tolerance is also to be thought of as arising out of the personal relations existing between pagans and most Christians in both areas.

In summary, this analysis has shown that different degrees of variability in patterns of living have arisen among two peoples, whose precontact cultures were identified with each other, under differing conditions of contact with European societies. In general, however, it is abundantly clear that the

British system of colonial administration by indirect rule, implemented as it has been by a greater intensity of formal education both in its numerical inclusiveness and in its duration, has created a situation in which acculturation has proceeded more rapidly and thoroughly than it has under the French policies of direct rule and assimilation.